PEACE NEWS

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"Another Way"

By Dr. ALFRED SALTER, M.P.

In Chap. II of St. Matthew's Gospel there is the story of three wise men who followed the star and visited the stable in Bethlehem to worship the new-born Babe. It is reported that, having been warned in a dream, "they departed to their own country by another way."

Something had happened in the interval.

WE are being deluged with stories of the "New Order" and of the Paradise that awaits the country at the end of the war.

I have grave doubts about that Elysium. Herod had decided to kill the Child at all costs, and I fancy the same thing will happen here, in spite of all the confident prophecies about post-war society. The really wise men of any age, after experiences of such a war as the present, will return to their own country by another route.

After their pilgrimage to Bethlehem a complete change of attitude towards their fellow-men had occurred. They came away with a fresh outlook. A full surrender of old ways and ideas had to be effected. That is precisely what happened at the shrine of the infant Christ.

Listen to the words of Dr. P. S. Gerbrandy, the Dutch Prime Minister, speaking at a missionary society's luncheon in London.

> Our present predicament condemns all our political, military, and economic strategy of the past. It is doubtful if the Netherlands or the British Empire can rise again out of the troubles and humiliations if Christ is again left out of the deliberations of statesmen. I am convinced that they will only find a way out if we realize the imperfect character, **the wolf-like nature, of modern industrial life.**

Unselfishness in material policy, renunciation of the special advantages of our nation, sharing freely with other peoples without regard to ourselves, sorrow for past sins which gave rise to the policies that led to this disastrous war—in fact, a return to a genuine Christ-like attitude—are essential if a change from "the wolf-like nature" and the profit-mongering motive are to lead to a fundamental change of heart.

No Good Signs

I see no signs of that, so far as concerns either the abandonment of tariffs and Ottawa duties, or the giving up of our grip on India, or the repudiation of Mr. Churchill's determination to continue to "hold our own," or the treating of all men (including negroes and the "lesser breeds without the law") as brothers and equals. There is no evidence that points that way.

It is possible that the people of this country may experience a striking conversion to a new and better way of life, but the omens are not propitious. You cannot have press, pulpit, and BBC all continuing to urge men to go out and slaughter their fellow-men without taking the fine edge off the moral sense of the average person.

Particularly you cannot have the representatives of religion doing this; and you cannot have national propaganda admittedly engaged in suppressing truth and promulgating half-truths or actual untruths without having a deadening effect on the public conscience.

There is everywhere confusion, cynicism, loss of faith, and abandonment of the mind to temporary distractions. There is a marked loosening of ethical codes, a grave moral slackness, widespread sensualism, and a substitution of sensationalism for quiet judgment.

Except in the case of a limited few, the mass of the popular mind has become callous and is unresponsive to plain moral problems. There has ceased to be any respect for the sacredness of human life, and individual restraint has gone to the winds.

None of these things will pass suddenly away at the end of the war. They will remain to poison the life of the future.

This spiritual decline began after the 1914-18 war and has been intensified tenfold by this war. I cannot for the life of me understand why the religious leaders do not see this.

Why does the man-in-the-street despise Christianity today? He does not despise Christ. He speaks of him reverently. But he is contemptuously indifferent to the Churches and to organized religion.

What he says is: "These Christians obviously don't believe what they say. It's no use taking any notice of them."

What Men Say

I have had this said to me by hundreds of young men at outdoor meetings, in clubs, in Labour Party circles, and so on:

The Bishops, the Free Church Council, and the Methodist Conference have declared unanimously that all war is contrary to the mind, spirit, and teaching of Jesus. Very well then, the obvious corollary is that the Christian should have nothing to do with war or preparation for war in any circumstances. But the Bishops, the Free Church Council, and the Methodist Conference alike refuse by large majorities to take that stand. Their Christianity is a matter of pure opportunism. It is clear that they don't believe in Jesus.

If a man punches me in the face, I am going to punch him back. That is not what Christ taught: I know enough about Christianity to know that. But then people in the Churches do make the claim that they are Christians. They are all humbugs and they don't believe in the Gospel of Christ except when it happens to suit them.

It is a well-known fact that the majority of the most highly placed in the land pay only a sentimental lip-service to Christianity. They have set the pace for the mass of their fellow pseudo-Christians, and the herd instinct of the majority is too strong for them.

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"They returned to their own country by another way."

It is clear that the spirit of the Child on his mother's lap was alien to the policy of grab and get-rich-quick. His spirit spelt renunciation, surrender of privileges, and something quite different from the attitude of modern industrialism.

If our leaders are to lead the country into something better and higher, and if they are to avoid Herod's crime of butchering the Christ-child, they must direct the nation another way.

A Pacifist COMMENTARY Edited by OBSERVER

Churchill - Roosevelt Plan

MR. CHURCHILL'S speech was a historical document of the first importance. It gave definite substance to what he had formerly but hinted at.

Now President Roosevelt and he have entered on a binding agreement as to the conduct of the war: an agreement which would have taken the form of a treaty, had there not been the notorious difficulty about treaties with USA.

The agreement is that USA will make it her first business to co-operate with Britain in forcing Germany to "unconditional surrender", and then, and not till then, Britain will turn all her strength to co-operating with USA in enforcing "unconditional surrender" upon Japan. We have had the end of the beginning; now we have the beginning of the end. And this is the plan.

What the Plan Means

MILITARILY it may be quite sound. Yet perhaps its chief interest is political and psychological. There is, on the face of it, no reason why it should not be acceptable to Russia. If it were accomplished, and the second half strictly adhered to, it would leave Russia predominant in Europe. Britain's strength would be engaged in the Far East, while Russia would not be at war with Japan.

Unless there are detailed and far-reaching political agreements with Russia (of which there is no evidence), a position might be reached in which, in order to provide a counterpoise to Russian influence, Britain would confine herself to taking a secondary part in the Far Eastern war. The argument of domestic policy would be even stronger than the argument of foreign policy. After the exhausting effort of opening a second front in Europe and winning the continental war—a process which will cause USA, and a fortiori Britain, "casualties such as the nation has never before endured" (Mr. James Byrnes, USA Economic Director: Evening News, Feb 10)—is it likely that the British people would be eager to begin what would virtually be a new total war in the Far East?

Can China Wait ?

OUR Government would probably discover compelling reasons for leaving most of the Eastern war to the USA. We should be in a condition of semi-war which, incidentally, would have interesting potentialities for our domestic evolution. But that is another story.

The plan is rather sanguine. Will the Far-Eastern situation wait? It may be impossible for the Chinese to continue their resistance. Madame Chiang Kai-shek has been protesting passionately in USA that her countrymen are now at the end of their tether. Time (Feb. 8) speaks of "the possibility of a Chinese collapse."

> The Chinese fronts are quiet. The Jap is not attacking, but the Chinese now do not have the strength, or even the will, to rise up out of their slit trenches and march . . . The Chinese fronts have gone lean and inglorious. Once there was terror, urgency, bombardment, earth to scorch, and an enemy to hate. Now there is only hunger.

"Why War is Possible"

BUT the terrible thing about this sanguine plan is that it entirely ignores what is actually happening in Europe. It seems that, as confidence in the military outcome of the Western war increases, such little concern as there was for the starving peoples of Europe diminishes, while we remain incomparably the best fed people in all Europe.

Will God let us get away with this? What if, as Vera Brittain fears in her pamphlet, "One of these Little Ones . . ." (Dakers: 4d.), that, when the liberation of Europe begins, we find that we are the most hated people in Europe? "Do you want this?" asks Vera Brittain, after giving a vivid and valuable conspectus of the food-situation in Europe.

Average men and women do not positively want it, but they have, alas, too little imagination to determine that it shall not be so, too little faith to dare to be generous. A word of Georges Duhamel, written in the last war, haunts my mind: "You can never give imagination to those who have it not. That is why war is possible."

While the Getting's Good

MR. Wendell Willkie has a knack of pungent expression. Recently he said: "You can never get more out of the peace than you can get while the war is going on." In limited spheres, politicians are aware of it. Thus the extreme Conservatives see that if they can stave off a minimum wage for the catering trade during the war, they will not have to submit to so monstrous a justice afterwards.

In more important matters the big industrialists know well that if they can keep their men in charge of the raw materials controls, monopoly capitalism will be more securely entrenched after the war than before. What either side gives away in wartime will hardly be regained, in peace. As a general rule it is probably sound, both in domestic and international affairs.

Air-Competition

SO there is substance in the fears expressed in the Lords' debate on Feb. 10 that the USA, having been allotted the task of making much the greater part of the United Nations' transport planes, will be predominant in the air after the war. The advertisements of the aircraft manufacturers and the aviation companies in the American papers powerfully suggest that America is to be first in the air and the rest nowhere. In which there is nothing for wave-ruling Britannia to cavil at.

But President Roosevelt believes that ruthless air-competition, though ostensibly to America's advantage, would make nonsense of any better international order after the war, as it would. He is willing to come to an air-agreement with Britain; and Britain, having much to gain and nothing to lose, is anxious to conclude it. Significantly, Mrs. Clare Luce, Republican Congresswoman and wife of the owner of Time, Life, and For-

(Continued on page 2)

KEEP THE FLAME ALIVE!

THE Fighting Fund, I regret to say, has moved but languidly forward so far in 1943. Is it because a sense of frustration and impotence is descending upon us?

The feeding of the starving children of Europe and the rescue of the Jews are two decisive tests of humanity. Yet nothing is done. On the other hand, "unconditional surrender" of the enemy—the most barren of all conceptions—is become the order of the day.

But in reality it is because of this vast surrounding inertia that our effort is of crucial importance. The flame of imagination must be kept alive. Feed it, and feed it regularly, with your contributions.

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THE EDITOR

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Japan's War

THOUGH there is solid reason for believing that Germany and Hitlerism will be beaten (by Russia rather than ourselves), there appears to be much less for believing that the Japanese will be. Professor Keeton, in his recent book on China, makes the important point that, whereas Hitlerism is an aberration, a temporary withdrawal of a great European people from Western civilization, the Japanese endeavour to expel the white man from the East has been a consistent policy ever since Japan entered the ranks of the great Powers. There are no dissentients in Japan: the whole people is profoundly convinced of the reality of Japan's historical mission. Capt. Gammans, in an informative article on American opinion (Telegraph, Feb. 4) notes "a curious pessimism about the war against Japan," which he ascribes to a misunderstanding of sea-power. That is too easy an explanation. The Americans, like the Australians, have been given a moral shock by their discovery of the extraordinary toughness and religious fanaticism of the Japanese.

The Economist (Feb. 6) has an article "Japan Digs In," which contains an unusual amount of information concerning the organisation of the "co-prosperity sphere." It is going forward apace; and the Japanese authorities are fully conscious of its importance and urgency. General Tojo lately said that reconstruction in Greater East Asia is "the way to Japanese victory in the war." Mr. Curtin, we know, has expressed the opinion that "time is now fighting on the side of Japan." The Economist asks the question:

> However long the lull in armed combat, can the Japanese, already straitened by a total war economy, provide the capital, the equipment, and the personnel for a major task of reconstruction?

On the whole, the Economist is inclined to conclude that they cannot; but we suspect that economic arguments, in this case, are not likely to be conclusive.

The most serious shortage is shipping; next is the shortage of capital; last, the shortage of experienced administrative personnel, which the Japanese have partly overcome by a bold unification of the departments dealing with the occupied territories.

> The Chinese present a special problem. The millions scattered throughout the South Seas could be an invaluable pillar of the new regime. They are the only coherent group corresponding to a middle class. They can provide the badly needed doctors, engineers, merchants, technicians. They own a good deal of the property, especially in Malaya.
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> The Japanese are in two minds. On the one hand, they are crushing vigorously all pro-Chungking elements. On the other, they are trying to bribe potential quislings with offers of British and American property, and have a special training school at Nanking for Chinese propagandists who go out to the South Seas and preach the Wang Ching-wei regime. It is too early to know the outcome of this equivocal treatment.

But is it equivocal? It seems an ancient and straightforward treatment, at least as old as Rome: Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos: "to spare those who surrender and beat down the proud." At any rate, it is surely a complete misnomer to describe the Chinese who make their peace with Japan as quislings. European analogies make their validity in the Far East. Possibly the thought of the majority of Chinese is: Exeunt the Manchus, enter the Japanese. How far has Western nationalism really entered the heart and soul of John Chinaman?

We do not know; but we notice that those who know the Far East best are most dubious of the idea that its teeming millions are awaiting the chance to overthrow the Japanese conqueror. And those who know Britain fairly well may be dubious whether, supposing Hitlerism is overthrown in Europe, the British people will be in a mood to continue the struggle in the Far East. Suppose they were to ask themselves what they were fighting for? It would be hard to give a satisfying answer. And, above all, they will be tired. "When the whistle blew," said Mr. Bevin, "they would want a holiday". They will not look upon it as half-time.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

tune, has made a slashing attack on "the freedom of the air" and the consequent international organization of air-routes.

Question of Sovereignty

MRS. Luce, moreover, made no bones about hinting that Britain was the nigger in the wood-pile. "She expressed the opinion that Americans would not yield the sovereignty of the air, 'deeply as we trust our British allies today and tomorrow, and as we may, I hope, trust our Russian allies tomorrow and today'... If the USA adopted the freedom of the air 'we shall have the most efficient lay-out groundwork for America's certain defeat in World War Three'" (N. Chronicle, Feb. 11).

Subsequently, Mrs. Luce denied that she suggested that USA should dominate the air. She is probably just as sincere as Britons in the last century who would have denied that they wanted Britain to dominate the seas.

Isolationism Up-to-date

PART of this movement of isolationism up-to-date—historically analogous to Britain's rejection of the American demand for "freedom of the seas", and, like that British isolationism, compatible with a new American imperialism: this is to be "the American century" according to Mr. Luce—is the agitation for a permanent Congressional Committee on Civil Aviation, with the idea of crabbing an Anglo-American agreement.

By and large, the movement is pretty powerful, and likely to become more so. "Commercial interests plus national prestige make a persuasive combination" (Economist, Feb. 13). Air-supremacy will make a widespread appeal also, to the combination of technological enthusiasm and resentment of past Britignominiously as the champion of tips instead naturally characteristic of so many Americans.

Catering Wages Bill

THE Catering Wages Bill, says the Manchester Guardian (Feb. 10), "has much importance in the history of the Government. It is the first time the Government has stood firm against a Tory cave." The main cause of this firmness was that Mr. Bevin was the author of the new Bill, and Mr. Bevin is capable of standing his ground. Possibly it was a main cause also of the size of the Tory cave. Mr. Bevin is the man to be downed, if possible.

But Toryism makes a bad showing on this issue. Conditions of employment in the catering trade are notoriously deplorable. Toryism, in principle, defends human independence; but in this instance its defence of human independence amounts to nothing more than a defence of the employer's "right" to employ workers in conditions which put a premium on human servility. Tory sm appears as the champion of tips instead of wages.

de Gaulle's Republicanism

THE Giraud-de Gaulle impasse seems no nearer solution. In a full-dress statement, Gen. de Gaulle said: "In the present frame of mind of the French people the liberation for which they were fighting and suffering involved not only driving the enemy out of their country, but also restoring the Republic. It would be for the people themselves to decide what sort of a Republic they would have."

That is an equivocal use of the word Republic. To the majority of Frenchmen the Republic means the Third Republic and no other. And that is what Gen. de Gaulle himself suggests when he speaks of "restoring" or "re-establishing" the Republic. Possibly the majority of Frenchmen desire that; but it is doubtful whether they do.

Moreover, until now one would hardly have thought of Gen. de Gaulle as a pillar of the Republic. It is much more like a convenient role which he has seen fit to adopt. It is certainly difficult to reconcile with his previous behaviour as leader of the Fighting French. "Gen de Gaulle has weakened his position by excluding a number of his ablest collaborators ... and has allowed a suspicion to grow that his movement has strong personalist tendencies and that he himself is not without ultimate political ambition" (Economist, Feb. 13).

General Giraud's View

ANYHOW, Gen. Giraud is certainly not a pillar of the Republic. Time (Jan. 25) quotes copiously from a very interesting memorandum which he presented to Petain last spring. Here is a passage:

'From 1918 to 1930 France luxuriated in every kind of regime which might be called republican—from horizon blue to the red Popular Front ... The ruin which the Popular Front has caused France is immeasurable ... The king of all was the corner cafe ... To preach under-production at a time when Germany shouted 'Guns before butter' was not only treason against the nation but a crime against honesty."

One gathers the impression that Gen. de Gaulle has gone all Republican rather to give focus to the opposition to Gen. Giraud than from any deep-rooted political conviction.

French Cleavage Renewed

WHAT the whole affair demonstrates, very clearly, is the depth of the division, in France, between the Right and the Left, the clericals and the anti-clericals—but it is impossible really to define the cleavage. It has been continuous since the Revolution itself. The significant and ominous thing is that Gen. de Gaulle has now declared himself on one side of the cleavage, even more definitely than Gen. Giraud has declared himself on the other.

Gen. Giraud, in fact, now occupies the position which Gen. de Gaulle took when his movement began. Then his declared object was to unite all Frenchmen who would continue resistance irrespective of political colour. Now that Gen. Giraud has come forward to take that position, it looks as though Gen. de Gaulle, rather than play second fiddle, had set up with a new political stock-in-trade. To the aim of driving the enemy out of France is now added the restoration of the Republic. The secular cleavage of France is thus renewed. It is a bad omen for the future.

STUARTMORRIS

The following announcement was made by the Home Office on Tuesday:

STUART DENTON MORRIS, general secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, and Arthur Thomas Williams, an employee of a Government Department, were on Tuesday, Jan. 19, 1943 at the Central Criminal Court, before Mr. Justice Hallett, convicted of conspiracy to contravene the provisions of section 2 of the Official Secrets Act, 1911. Williams was also convicted on three charges of contravention of section 2 of the Official Secrets Act, while Morris was convicted on two offences against this section.

An offence against this section is punishable by a maximum of two years' imprisonment. Morris was sentenced to nine months and Williams to 12 months' imprisonment in the second division.

The charges against Morris and Williams arose as a result of documents belonging to a Government Department, which were entrusted to Williams for destruction, being found in his possession as he was about to enter the offices of the Peace Pledge Union at 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. A search warrant was thereupon obtained, with the result that further documents were found in Morris's office at that address. These had been handed to him by Williams on previous occasions and retained by him.

At the trial, which was held throughout in camera, Morris and Williams pleaded "Guilty", Morris being represented by Mr. Christmas Humphreys and Williams by Mr. Wilfred Fordham the Crown being represented by Mr. L. A. Byrne.

In passing sentence, Mr. Justice Hallett stated that, had there been any question here of treachery on the part of either Williams or Morris, they would have been charged under quite a different statutory provision and dealt with in quite a different way. Although there was no question of treachery in this case, Williams, who had been entrusted with the disposal of documents plainly of the most secret character, had seen fit to abuse his trust and to hand them over to his co-defendant Morris. Whatever the motive, this action of Williams was an extraordinarily serious matter.

In sentencing Morris, the judge referred to him as an educated man and a person who had occupied fairly prominent positions in the Church of England to whom it must have been apparent that the documents handed to him by Williams were documents of the highest possible secrecy which Williams could bring to him only by the grossest possible breach of his duty. Morris had been guilty of being a party to the most gross breach of confidence on the part of a public servant and had done this in order to obtain information which would be useful to him in furthering his political ideas. The judge stigmatized this conduct as shocking.

A Letter from the U.S.A.

This letter is designed to tell you how much we appreciate your magazine. It is the one most eagerly awaited of all the many we get, for it speaks sense, and nobody else does. It arrives irregularly from dear England, and we pass it around in a gingerly manner, hoping not to lose any copies; and we persuade our friends here to get it.

(So writes a Massachusetts, USA, reader, in a letter—written just before Christmas—from which we take the following.)

WE are descended from English folk ourselves and have many relatives in England, and have been there several times and love every inch of that dear country; and we long for peace before it is ruined. The increasing ruin of this war, and the probability that nothing good whatever will come out of it, whether we win or lose, becomes more terrible every day as the war spreads to ever new areas.

The African theatre is now in all our minds. We see that this occupation by our troops will prevent the unhappy French from importing the food they formerly got from North Africa, and while we forbid the entrance of food from our country we now cut off her own food from her own territories. I believe I pity France more than any other of the countries involved in this war.

* * *

As you mention Willkie in your last Peace News, I enclose a clipping. He seems to be developing. It is hard to say whether he utters these things because he really originates them or because he is striking for votes on our next election, when he correctly calculates our prevailing feeling (if the war is over or not) will be war-weariness and reaction against England. Hence these digs at Churchill and the Empire; and I enclose a reply to that dig from a Chinese who says Churchill's spirited rejoinder, that he was not appointed Prime Minister of England to assist in the liquidation of the British Empire, will keep the war going an extra year by discouraging our dark-skinned allies.

But the most astounding thing Churchill ever said was that he had "laboured and prayed" to get America into this war. That will never be forgotten by us. I was talking about this to a remote villager in our country, an old housewife in the country whose husband kept a country store. She said, holding her hand over her head, "If Churchill prayed to get this country into this war, his prayer did not get any further than *that*" (waving her hand), "and God never heard that prayer; no, the Devil heard it, and he is answering it."

* * *

All the letters we get from England are so dull. They never mention the war, and it is not because of censorship, either; it is because they are so worn out and tired of it. One lady said, "We never speak of the war. It seems to be bad form". Now we over here are actively interested in it because we are not yet suffering from it. So far it is a source of profit and pleasure. The death lists are not published and individual mourners are not known.

While the war is not popular in any active sense, nor yet is it borne with any sense of heroism or exaltation, still it is submitted to, passively, and its temporary benefits are gladly accepted, while its long term ruin is freely acknowledged. The 80 per cent who were against entering the war until Pearl Harbour are now confusedly wretched, uncertain, but yet in support of it because they do not know what else to do. They have no plan, no sense, no hope, but they do as they are told, docilely. The undercurrent of vague dissatisfaction with the world was shown up in the late elections which gave a marked swing away from the President and toward the Republican Party.

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This is an ominous sign of what will be increasingly evident, that even if we do win and hope to make a good treaty, or revive the League of Nations, the electorate will have none of it. By that time their general sense of frustration, working in the only direction they see, will have put in a solid Republican Senate which will on theory vote against everything the President suggests. This is just what happened the last time. I doubt if America will ever accept any World plan of Federation or League of Nations or any kind of international agreement.

We shall be so devastated by the war by then, so burning with resentment against England for labouring and praying to get us into it, so forgetful of our own entire willingness to get into it when the time became ripe, so stupid, so worn out we shall only in blind weariness revolt against everything, and turn inward to self-destructive and blind policies of high tariffs, isolationism, and unemployment. This is one reason why I do not feel any enthusiasm for the war. After we have lost the 3 million boys destined to die, in the 34 fronts now published, and brought home the remaining 10 millions from Europe and Asia, nothing will have been gained but ruin.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

MAURICE L. ROWNTREE on

The Task Before the P.P.U.

WORDS OF PEACE — 8

Unconditional Surrender

WHAT was this policy of unconditional surrender? It was that, now we had got the men we were fighting against down, we should punish them as severely as possible, devastate their country, burn their homes, break up their very instruments of agriculture, and destroy the machinery by which food was produced. It was that we should sweep, as the Spaniards did in Cuba—and how we denounced the Spaniards!—the women and children into camps in which they were destitute of all the decencies and comforts and many of the necessaries of life, and in some of which the death rate rose as high as 430 in the thousand.

He did not say for a moment that this was the deliberate or intentional policy of the Government, but it was the policy of writers in the press who supported them and, at all events, it was the thing that was being done at the moment in the name and by the authority of this most humane and Christian nation.

On the previous day he asked the Leader of the House of Commons when the information would be afforded of which we were so much in need. Mr. Balfour treated them to a short disquisition on the nature of war. A phrase often used was "war is war," but when one came to ask about it, one was told that no war was going on, that it was not war. "When was a war not a war? When it was carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa."

That he had done for himself, that he could never be Prime Minister or long remain the leader of any party that respected itself, was the loudly-expressed opinion of the man in the train and the City. One day, eight years later, I found myself talking over these events with General Botha. Just as I was leaving, he turned to me and said: "After all, three words made peace and union in South Africa: 'Methods of barbarism'."

Softening the epigram a little, he went on to speak of the tremendous impression which had been made on men fighting a losing battle with an apparently hopeless future, by the fact that the leader of one of the great English parties had had the courage to say this thing and to brave the obloquy which it brought upon him. So far from encouraging them to a hopeless resistance, it touched their hearts and made them think seriously of the possibility of reconciliation.

Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, quoted in J. A. Spender's "South African War."

Christmas 1942 startled a warring world with its strangely incongruous sounding message of peace and good will—a message of the coming of new life to man and of its victory over violence and hatred which in their heart of hearts vast numbers of people would have liked to welcome.

This message of peace has been followed by the stark challenge of a New Year at war.

HOWEVER grim in many ways the prospect, to those who will persistently seek good in opponents and friends alike, to those who will fearlessly face all the truth they can discover and offer their lives wholeheartedly in its pursuit, astonishing renewals of inward power continually occur. (Though I have often failed to live up to this, I know it is true, and great numbers of people have proved it again and again.)

If we apply the results with wisdom in all our daily living, we shall begin to shake the country and bring new hope to the world.

It might seem, under present conditions, that nothing of the sort is possible. Most of us are suffering under some sense of frustration. Standing for peace, we are enveloped in total war, the prospects of whose speedy ending, still more of its issue in any just settlement, are all too slight.

CHANGE OF HEART NEEDED

This by no means implies that there is nothing that we can do. In order that there may come about a renunciation of further warfare and the building of a just peace there is required in the peoples everywhere a deep change of heart and mind, and it is our job to do everything in our power to bring this about.

To open first our own, and then other men's eyes, that they may see the value of all human beings, that they may therefore cease from oppressing and killing them; that instead they may accord them the fullest opportunities of free and happy life—to foster within the framework of a broadly planned economic co-operation a true cultural autonomy—to turn men's hearts from the misguided pursuit of vengeance and retribution—to show that, however much the most depraved and dangerous criminals need restraint, they more than others, need appropriate curative treatment—all this is part of a vast campaign for the enlightenment of men's minds everywhere which the occasion at this time demands.

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BUT if we would succeed in our public campaigning we need to set ourselves profoundly to understand our fellow human-beings as individuals. That we should treat everyone with full respect and consideration is an obvious part of pacifism. But we need also constantly to achieve a greater sensitiveness to the thoughts and feelings of others.

And this increased sensitiveness can be won only at the cost of increased pain to ourselves. This price we must be prepared to pay and to pay willingly, nay even gladly.

Pacifists, just because they are the sort of folk who take their own stand against majority opinion, are often notoriously individualistic. We hold our own ideas so strongly that we don't readily co-operate with one another. In addition, the strain of the war-situation makes us often liable to get on one another's nerves.

On the other hand, if we can't succeed in working together in true comradeship, how shall we help to show the world the way to overcome evil with good, how shall we exemplify that good will which shall abolish the spirit of war?

PACIFISTS' GREATEST TASK

Therefore, as pacifists, our greatest task is so to live our personal lives that to those who differ from us we become good advertisements (forgive the word!) of the causes we advocate.

Most of us must confess failure to fulfil such a test. But if we are to be the power in the land we ought to be, 1943 must see a great advance among us, as individuals and as groups, in the effectiveness with which, in our daily living, we witness to the truth we know.

Very good: we have all of us alike fallen short of what we ought to have been. It is here that we need the dynamic required to renew our lives and recreate our strength.

But we don't need the strength just for the fun of having it, and most certainly not for the satisfaction of exercising it upon others. Strength is called forth within us largely according to the demands the occasion makes upon us. Sometimes in an emergency we find ourselves possessed of a power which, when afterwards we reflect upon it, amazes us.

That is why it is vital, not only to discover the sources of inward life, but also to apply the energy released in fruitful forms of action. We need both faith and works, impression and expression, introversion and extraversion, dynamic and its practical application. Neither mode of activity is truly effective without the other.

★

THE task before us is (1) personal, (2) educational, (3) experimental, and (4) political.

We have to be the sort of people who inspire confidence; we have to be so sensitive to the condition of others that we call forth the best in them; we have to work out ways of living that demonstrate a better social order. We have, however immense the obstacles, to work untiringly, with an inspiration that the power available for us shall continually renew, so to influence the industrial and international arrangements of mankind that justice shall more and more prevail over oppression, cooperation and peace over discord and strife.

PLENTY TO DO!

To achieve these things the PPU has indeed more than all its work cut out. None of us need feel useless, frustrated, or without an important job to do in the world.

Our message is all-inclusive. Excluding none, we have none to fear, whereas believers in exclusive faiths go about in fear of those whom they exclude. Our appeal is everywhere to the best, the most positive, the most creative elements in very human life: it is entirely cooperative and constructive: it is based upon the fullest possible understanding of, and sympathy with, all men.

Because it stands for these things it stands for universal truth, and it has the opportunity of liberating the maximum of creative power. For if we will live by the light of universal truth, we are at all times unconquerable.

Birmingham Council.—A resolution asking the PPU "to give the Armistice Campaign precedence over all other activities" and pledging members "to work unceasingly to that end" was passed unanimously at the annual meeting on Feb. 6. Geoffrey Wastell (Edgbaston Group) was elected Chairman of the Council, in succession to Ron. Hand, and Constance Braithwaite was re-elected Treasurer. Lilla Tansley, who was re-elected secretary, spoke of her experience in prison, from which she had been released that morning after serving a month's imprisonment for refusal to register. Marjorie Harvey gave an encouraging report about Peace News showing that sales had increased during the year.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION LONDON AREA

2/6 not 3s. is now the price of admission to the SOCIAL and DANCE at the CONWAY HALL on Sat., Feb. 27, between 2.30-10

The program includes a SAD and HEARTRENDING tale of an EARNEST young pacifist (it might be you!) and many other diversions. Admission by program from 8 Endsleigh Gdns.

The price includes tea. No further reductions.

Non-members admitted after 6.30 for 1s. 6d. paid at door.

THE basis of he Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

A Place for Everyone

EVERYBODY, one might think, if he knows nothing else, would at least know the address of the place where he lives. But he doesn't, at any rate, know his *correct* postal address, and this is the cause of a good deal of trouble in that hard-working part of Dick Sheppard House known as the Records Department.

To file even so many as 100,000 pledge cards according to address does not, in principle, seem a very difficult job. The complications arise when one day one finds that while Mr. So-and-so lives at 14 The Drive, Oldtown, Park, Metropolis, his wife lives at 14 The Drive, Victoria Village, Metropolis, and his son at 14 The Drive, Metropolis 14. Why, one can only surmise; but it may be that Victoria Village is, as they say, a "better-class district."

Now the aim of any good filing system is to have one place, and one place only, for each card in it. In the early days of the Union, when cards came in floods, the system had to be fairly hastily improvised.

For the last year or two Muriel Boldero, in charge of Records Dept., has been—among her other labours—engaged in reshaping the signatories file to satisfy this first principle of system. It means going through the file almost card by card, checking the accuracy of postal addresses, and consulting directories.

And though it isn't work that much concerns the local member, that is no reason why he should not know of it as part of the picture of Dick Sheppard House that, we hope, he carries in his mind.

It does, however, touch the local secretary, and that is the chief reason for this article. Groups often complain that the membership lists they receive do not exactly agree with the area covered by the group. They may be lists for a particular postal district, of which the group only covers half. And they wonder why Headquarters can't file members according to the group they attend.

The sort of difficulty that has been mentioned is the answer. Groups wax and wane, divided into two groups, combine into one. New groups are formed and attract members for whom the new meeting place is more convenient. To keep, through all those alterations, one place and one place only for each card would be a gigantic task.

The geographical filing we use was adopted for the benefit of groups, so that local lists could be given. From many points of view alphabetical filing would be simpler, and when all the groups are firmly established, with accurate local records that don't get lost at each change of secretary, we may be able to make that change. But for the moment we are doing our very carefully considered best.

By the way, have we *YOUR* card filed in the right place? It may be important if you want to vote in the 1943 Council Election or attend the Annual General Meeting. *When did you last move? Did you write to us then?*

A.C.S.

THE DEBATE IS OPEN!

Let Geo. Ll. Davies, Laurence Housman, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Reginald Reynolds, Alan Staniland, Roy Walker and Howard Whitten open your group discussion on:

Non-Violence for the West?

with the Symposium under that title now published at 7d. (post free 8d.)

P.P.U. Bookshop, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

PROGRESS

WHILE congratulating ourselves on the results of the recent financial appeal, which were truly remarkable, it is well to remember that the criterion of our progress is neither the size of a bank balance nor the number of names in our files. A reduction in either of these accounts always causes undue alarm and despondency and a corresponding shrinking of our activities.

Our movement depends on the integrity of all its members and their ability to maintain it. Gerald Heard in "Sex, Pain, and Time" (page 303) writes:

> When we consider the enormous influence which has always been exercised by men who had no power but their absolute integrity—how Herod feared the Baptist, how Ivan the Terrible dreaded the fakir-monk who day by day denounced him in the Red Square, how Cromwell was disturbed by Fox, how the Calif listened to Francis—then there can be no historical doubt that the dictator type . . . is if anything more vulnerable to the charges of the fearless mystic than is the average sensual man.

The pacifist claims that the faith to which he witnesses springs from deep religious roots which have a political expression. It is the strength of this conviction and its effect on the life of the individual that alone can withstand and overcome the violence of destructive forces that seek to establish peace through military despotism and political expediency. There is a danger that in our anxiety to register more rapid progress we shall forget the fundamental truth on which that progress depends.

JOHN BARCLAY

64 Ellerton Rd., S.W.1.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words

Service in India

May I be allowed to say a word of thanks to all those Regions, Groups, and individuals who responded so generously to my recent appeal in Peace News on behalf of the work Margaret Jones (nee Stay) is doing in India. They may like to know that to date nearly £50 has been received and will be cabled to India. It is hoped to start some sort of news letter from Margaret, which will be circulated to all those who have signified their interest in so practical a manner, although it must be realized that this will take some time to get through.

IDA HILLMAN

105 Palmerston Rd.,
Boscombe, Bournemouth.

TO P.N.

Distributors — URGENT

The third Peace News pamphlet, "Conscription for Children," which was to have been dispatched to distributors with this issue, has been held over until next month. **INSTEAD, we shall dispatch with NEXT WEEK'S issue a 12-page pamphlet containing long extracts from the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy which led up to the former's decision to fast. This will make available Mr. Gandhi's point of view at much greater length than it has been published in the British press.**

The price will still be 1d. (9d. a dozen.) In view of the topicality and importance of the subject matter, we believe distributors will welcome this change in arrangements. Any alteration to standing orders for these pamphlets should reach the Peace News office (3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.) not later than Monday, Feb. 15.

THE Bishop of Oxford, presiding over a public meeting at New College, Oxford, said that if the serious malnutrition were allowed to continue in Belgium combined with the terrorism from which the people were suffering, it would affect generations. Prof. Emile Cammaerts was the speaker (M. Guardian, Feb 12). Following the meeting,

all the political clubs in the University, together with the Student Christian Movement, the Oxford University Church, and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, passed a resolution urging the extension of relief to Allied countries in Europe on the lines of the measures taken in Greece.

It is suggested that in view of the practical difficulties consignments should be limited to medical supplies and a certain amount of concentrated food in order to protect, as far as possible, women and children against the rapid progress of tuberculosis and other diseases caused by two years of malnutrition.

The following quotation from the Bulletin of Statistics issued by the Belgian Ministry of Economic Affairs (cited by a contributor to the Tablet, Feb. 6, in an extremely valuable survey called "The Health of Europe") indicates the incidence of tubercular diseases in Belgium.

In December 1941, 69,079 Belgians were registered for such extra rations allotted to tuberculars. This figure rose to 72,593 during the period Feb. 1-Mar. 2, 1942, and it further increased to 83,695 during the period May 1-June 2, 1942. These figures represent an increase of over 14,000, i.e. more than 20 per cent. of the original figure, in some six months.

PETER PEARS
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Sunday, February 28th
2.45 p.m. at Friends House
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The Psychic Section of the UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD

Interesting psychic experiment

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Leslie Flint, Medium

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1
Saturday, February 20th, 3 p.m.

Doors open 2.30

Admission Free Reserved Seats 1/-
Obtainable at doors
No admission after 3.15 p.m.

NEWS OF C.O.s

Fourth Court-Martial Sentence

WILLIAM J. NISBET, of Edinburgh, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment at his fourth court-martial, and is now awaiting his third hearing by the Appellate Tribunal under Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, his first two applications having been turned down.

Winifred and Kathleen Rawlins, of Berkhamsted, appeared at Hastings police court on Feb. 11 to answer a summons for failing to pay War Damage Contribution.

In a statement, which she was not allowed to finish, Winifred Rawlins said she was unable to support any measure which put the country on a war basis.

An order was made for payment of the contribution within one month, but on grounds of conscience Winifred and Kathleen Rawlins do not feel able to comply.

* * *

Charles Harding, of Eltham, who had already served 12 months imprisonment for refusing medical examination under the National Service Acts, was sentenced to 3 months on Feb. 8 for failing to comply with an order to be medically examined issued by the Ministry of Labour under Defence Regulation 80B.

For failing to attend a national service interview, **Henry Charles Fisher**, of Kew Gardens, was sent to prison at Richmond on Feb. 8 for 2 months. He said (according to the Star) that he was determined to continue to resist until there existed "a sane system of society."

War-Resister's Escape

Prof. Brocca In Mexico

JUST before the final occupation of France by the Germans, and after some months' efforts to get him away, Jose Brocca, the Spanish member of the Council of the War Resisters' International, was able to leave southern France. He arrived in Mexico in October, safe but with only what he stood up in and 17 French francs, his luggage having been stolen en route from Perpignan to Marseilles.

Professor Brocca was, unhappily, unable to take his wife and the younger members of the family with him. They have returned to Spain where at any rate they will not be in the same danger as he would have been in there; for he is still remembered for his association with the Republican Government throughout the Spanish war. Even while in France he was several times in a concentration camp and his life was in very great danger.

Reporting these facts, the WRI state that in their efforts to get Jose Brocca out of France, they got in touch with the leader of their Mexican section, Jorge Rio de la Loze, with friends in the United States, and with Spanish friends already in Paraguay, asking them to use their influence with the authorities in Mexico to secure a visa for Professor Brocca. These efforts were successful, and the Spanish Refugee Committee in Mexico obtained the visa, arranging for their counterpart in France to provide the money.

REV. DONALD STUART

The first real news since the occupation of the Channel Isles has been received by Charles Stuart of his brother, the Rev. Donald Stuart, who gives his new address as 732, Barrack 19, Room 58, Internierungs Lager, Biberach, (Riss), Germany, and writes:

My wife and I are at our second camp since evacuation from Guernsey in September. I am the only Free Church minister in the camp, together with three Anglican clergy. I hold one service and sacrament each Sunday, also Sunday school, and I am training a carol party for Christmas. Thursdays I have a women's meeting and am also teaching in day school (history, geography, literature, elocution, and religion.

Living and sleeping accommodation are separate for men and women, but my wife and I meet for meals in each other's barracks. This camp has only married couples and children. My colleague, Mr. Flint, from Guernsey, was with us at Dorsten camp, but is now at Lauffen camp with unmarried men and men whose wives did not accompany them.

We are both well, and . . . are allowed to send three letters and four postcards, a month, but there is no limit to what we may receive. Will all friends please write.

Mr. Gandhi's Fast

Mr. Gandhi began to fast on Feb. 9. The Viceroy, in the course of a correspondence (shortly to be published as a Peace News pamphlet) describes the fast as "a form of political blackmail."

What are the facts?

MR. GANDHI maintains that he and other members of the Congress have been unjustly imprisoned, and that the Government, by this action, is responsible for the violence that has admittedly occurred since August 9. He says directly to the Viceroy:

(1) If you want me to act singly, convince me that I was wrong, and I will make ample amends. (2) If you want me to make any proposal on behalf of Congress you should put me among the Congress Working Committee members. I do plead with you to make up your mind to end the impasse.

He has waited six months for the Government to redress the injustice done. The Government has done nothing. Therefore, he will fast.

Despite your description of it as "a form of political blackmail", it is on my part meant to be an appeal to the highest tribunal for the justice I have failed to secure from you. If I do not survive the ordeal, I shall go to the judgment seat with the fullest faith in my innocence. Posterity will judge between you, as the representative of an all-powerful Government, and me, as a humble man who has tried to serve his country and humanity through it.

In the present mood of this country, Mr. Gandhi's fast may be regarded either as unimportant, or with impatience. We must not forget that Mr. Churchill is on record as having once expressed his indignation that the Indian Government should pay any attention to this "half-naked fakir."

But, "however much the Indian Government may disclaim responsibility," Mr. Gandhi's fast "may move India to its depths" (Manchester Guardian, Feb. 13).

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

ACCOMMODATION

ATTRACTIVE Room to let unfurnished in modern flat, Kensington. Constant hot water, central heating, and every convenience. Moderate rent for suitable tenant. Box 749 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., wife, and child urgently require unfurnished garden flat, preferably ground floor. North London. Box 750 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

PACIFIST, 34, vegetarian, requires bed-sitting-room, board self if necessary. N. London within 10 miles Goffs Oak, Cheshunt. Jones, "Small Drinks", Y.H.A., Middle St., Nazeing, Essex.

WANTED BY PACIFIST (ex-Great War C.O.) small detached cottage or bungalow, garden, Cardiff, Caernarvon-Bangor, or Aberystwyth districts; £300-£500; cash if cheap. Vacant possession essential. Box 745 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED TO RENT, by married C.O. doing hospital work N. London, small house or ground-floor flat with garden. Two children. Box 687 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED WITHIN 30 miles London; house or bungalow, 4 bedrooms; about 4 acres land. Particulars to Box 748 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

THROUGH FREEDOM a child needs to learn "the 3 R's"—self-reliance, self-restraint, self-realization. Freemount School, Bacton, Hereford—a progressive home-school from 5 years. Mrs. K. P. Young and Mr. P. S. Young, B.A.

FOR SALE & WANTED

LAMB BRAND RIBBONS, cleanest, longest; 3s. 6d. each, 10s, three, 18s. 6d, six; state typewriter, colour(s). Dense black carbons, quarto, foolscap, 10s. hundred (minimum). All postage paid. Compare values. Lamb's (PN) 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

WRITE FOR OUR vegetable seed catalogue. "In Your Garden." Newman St., Shirley Terminus, Southampton.

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Sunday, February 28, 3 p.m.
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Fifth in a Series of Lunch Hour Lectures at Trade Union Club, Gt. Newport St., W.C.2. on WED. FEBRUARY 24 at 1.15 p.m.
J. F. HORRABIN
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N.B. ALL AVAILABLE SPACE IN NEXT ISSUE ALREADY BOOKED.

LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O., 30, SINGLE, 2 years experience, seeks partner for 5-acre market garden, Greenford, Middx. Small capital, congenial companionship, prospects. Details Box 747 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

VERY GOOD WORKMEN are invited to communicate with advertiser seeking partner for prosperous market garden near London. Horticultural experience and some capital desirable. Only men of highest character and adapted to really hard work need apply. Box 727 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

"PACIFISM AND POLITICS" by George Ausden. Published Aylesbury Group. 2d. copy; 1s. 6d. doz. post free. Arthur Page, 48 Regent Rd., Aylesbury.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

EDMONTON Music-Lovers' 19th recital, Sat., Feb. 20, 6.30 p.m. Edmonton Independent Church, Knights Lane, N.9. Artistes: Vida Blanche (international coloratura soprano); Michael, solo pianoforte; Yvonne Manet, solo violin.

GANDHI suffers for India and World. Tribute meeting, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1., Sun., Feb. 28, 6 p.m. Fenner Brockway and other British and Indian speakers. Committee of Indian Congressmen, 70 New Oxford St., W.C.1.

KINGSLEY HALL, Bow, International Affairs Group, Mondays at 8 p.m. Feb. 22, Muriel Lester "China"; Mar. 1, G. Pulimood "India."

VERA BRITTAIN
regrets that, owing to increase of work and correspondence, and decrease of secretarial and domestic help, she will not be available for lectures and meetings outside London for an indefinite period. London meetings must also be strictly limited, and she cannot take any for some months.

Please note our only address
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PERSONAL

DES AND KATHLEEN OLIVER (King) had a son—Nicholas— on Feb 5. Both doing well.

INTRODUCTIONS by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

"OH", wind of winter comes, can spring be far behind? Rec. P.O. 2s, 6d. Please write or call 88 Burford Rd., Nottingham.

SITUATIONS VACANT

A CAPABLE PERSON required by London firm, now established near Northampton, to assist in Housework and to help generally; might suit refugee. Large grounds, beautiful surroundings; comfortable home, room furnished or unfurnished, as required. Apply, stating age, salary required, and all particulars, to Box 744 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

BOYS' FARM TRAINING Hostel in Derbyshire has vacancy for man or woman. Interesting work including supervision, domestic, gardening, and handyman jobs. Ability to drive an advantage. Board, accommodation, and salary. Box 728 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd. N.4.

CARPENTERS, DECORATORS, and General Handimen wanted by firm of building contractors in London area; full or part time; those willing to learn would be considered. Good wages and bonus. Apply Box 726 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

DOMESTIC HELP required for small modern house, two in family. Wages 25s. to 35s. per week according to capability. Two Elms, Braywick Rd., Maidenhead.

RADIO-ENGINEER. Apply Brewer, 88 Fairfax Rd., South Hampstead, N.W.6. Telephon MAI. 4200.

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C.O., 22, MARRIED, no children, desires change. 3 years general farm work experience. Wales preferred but not essential. Box 746 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

LAKE DISTRICT: "Beck Allans," Grasmere. Vegetarian Guest House open all the year round for strenuous or restful holidays amid some of England's finest scenery. H. and C. water all bedrooms. Write: Isabel James. Phone: Grasmere 129.

WYE VALLEY. Guest House in own park of 150 acres. Vegetarians and others catered for, from £2 17s. 6d. "Lindors", St. Briavels, Glos.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London), Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2

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